3;Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16

Kamarakoto

194 197 The Carib phonetic system is very unlike that of any European language and also varies greatly from one dialect to another, so that any exact representation of the pronunciation is impossible without lengthy discussion and the use of many specially cast typographic symbols. Only a rough approximation, sufficiently close generally to produce a pronunciation recognizable by the Indians, is here attempted. The following remarks are based chiefly on Kamarakoto, because I know it best, but extension to other dialects will not produce unrecognizable distortion. In citing names from other authors I have transferred them into my system of transcription, as nearly as may be, instead of attempting to explain the different system used by each author.

194 VOWELS.—*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* will be recognized if pronounced as in Spanish or Italian, i.e., given the so-called continental values.

There is a whole system of intermediate (central) vowels in Carib that cannot be correctly represented with our ordinary letters. For typographic simplicity I have represented the most essential of them by *ä*, *ë*, *ö*, and *ü*. *ä* is to be pronounced approximately like short *e* in English, i.e., about as in "met." This is quite different from the sound represented by *e* and is sharply distinguished by the Indians themselves. In many cases however, authors have not distinguished them in transcribing Indian words and in names cited from other authors the sounds given as *e* doubtless include some that are really *ä*. *ë* is near the so-called neutral vowel of English, about like the last *e* in "pavement" (as it is really pronounced in rapid speech, not with an affectedly clear pronunciation) and almost exactly like the French sound in "de" or "le." It is very unlike *ä* or *e*, being much more like *ö*, and the best authorities (such as de Goeje, Williams, Koch-Grünberg) usually distinguish it, but here again some writers, especially those whose native language (particularly Spanish) includes no similar sound, tend to write *e* and in citing such

TRANSCRIPTION

authors there is no way of telling when this sound really occurs. *ö* and *ü* are not exactly like the German sounds written in the same way or like French *oe* and *u*, respectively, but are near enough to make those pronunciations recognizable. In some dialects *ö* is barely or not distinguishable from *ë*. Most Spanish-speaking authors and some others (notably Williams although he is otherwise an excellent authority) do not distinguish *ö* from *o*, or sometimes from *ë* or even *e*, and *ü* from *u*. German authors, familiar with analogous sounds, do usually make the distinction, notably Koch-Grünberg.

Two successive vowels of which the second is *-i* or *-u* are to be pronounced as falling diphthongs. For instance, *ai* is pronounced as in Spanish *oí* as in the English word "aisle."

CONSONANTS.—In general the usual English pronunciation is sufficiently close. *b* and *d* tend to be soft (nearly *v* and *th* as in "that"), but the hard (fully closed) pronunciation is a sufficiently safe general rule. *g* is always hard, as in "get," never as in "gem." *sh* is pronounced as in "ship," *ch* as in "chip," and *j* as in "judge." *w* is pronounced as in English, not as in German. *r* and *l* are interchangeable in Carib and no dialect really distinguishes the two. The correct pronunciation is impossible to an English-speaking person without long practice. Ordinary English (sounded) *r* and *l* will usually be recognizable. The flapped or single-trill Spanish *r*, if the reader has acquired it, is much closer, but the fully trilled Spanish *rr* is bad and French or German guttural *r* still worse. *n* is usually as in English words such as "no" or "on," but almost invariably at the end of words and before *k*, *g*, and *w* it takes on something or much of the sound of *ng* as in "sing." The sound here represented by *'* is another that does not consciously occur in European languages. It is formed by suddenly bringing the tongue in contact with the palate after a short vowel sound. It can be approximated by pronouncing a *t* after *i* and a *k* after other vowels, and has often been so written by

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194 travelers, or as *d* or *g*. This will be recognizable but is incorrect in that *t* and *k* derive most of their sound from the release of breath when the tongue is removed from the palate, whereas in the Indian sound ' this release is nearly or quite inaudible. *th* is as in English "thin" and *zh* like *z* in "azure." Both sounds are rare and are usually variants of *y*. *y* in general is as in English or Spanish, but it is a peculiarly fluid and protean sound in Carib, even within one dialect, varying from a sound almost *d* to one almost *zh*. It will, however, usually be understood if constantly pronounced as in "yet."

ACCENT.—In Kamarakoto and Taurepán the last syllable is almost always short but carries the stress accent, and this is

[paragraph continues on top of p. 4-B]

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192 825 197 Animal in general, almost invariably referring to mammals—Kamarakoto *woto*. Taurepán *woto*. Makuchi (Williams) *kamo*. These words usually mean an animal to be hunted and Williams notes the special applicability of *kamo* to deer, an example of the curiously world-wide

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 4-B]

MARSUPIALIA

Opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "rabipelado," *Didelphis marsupialis* and *Metachirus nudicaudatus*, and probably also *Marmosa* spp.—Kamarakoto *abare* (open *b*, nearly *v*). Taurepán *aware*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *yawari-kusinai*, identified as *Philander*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awari*. The Guiana Arawak name, *yawali* (de Goeje), is obviously cognate.

Yapok, water opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "perrito de agua" (but this may also be applied to small otters), *Chironectes minimus*—Kamarakoto *abarepoka*, *maparwa*. These were said to be two names for the same animal, the description of which strongly suggests *Chironectes* as does

[p. 4-A]
[paragraph continues on bottom of p. 4-B]

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194 probably true of most Carib dialects. The penultimate vowel is usually rather long and may be very long, as preceding vowels may also (but very rarely) be. When such vowels are very long, the unstressed length has much the effect on our ears of an accented syllable, our accent being usually a combination of stress and length while these are independent in Carib. In my own transcriptions and when I have been able to recognize them surely in those of others, I represent these superlong vowels by placing a colon after them. Accent will usually be near enough for recognition if these marked long vowels are accented when they occur and the last syllable is accented when they do not.

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192 825 197 transfer between the name of a favorite game animal and that of animals in general. The words are also used secondarily to mean "meat," which is more specifically *woto-pun* in Kamarakoto. The Makuchi word is not typically Carib and may well be borrowed for Tupi.

MARSUPIALIA

the inclusion in *abarepoka* of the root for "opossum," although the equation was not definitely established. There is in the Indian mind as well as in those of most other residents of northern South America confusion between the yapok, various otters, and some other water animals. Makuchi *marparwa* is given by Schomburgk as meaning the larger species of otter, while Williams defines it as a kind of frog. Taurepán *aparowa* is cognate, but it is uncertain whether it means *Chironectes*, an otter, or both. Taurepán *awa:kipoka* is given by Koch-Grünberg as a name for an otter, but obviously equals Kamarakoto *abarepoka*.

[p. 4-B]

LANGUAGE

197 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but referable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect, Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language, [192] being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at [177] most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words apply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,[8] and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than directly from Spanish-speaking people.

114 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia-
192 lect, the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kamarakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, waila (= waira), "membrum virile," and (u)sa:yi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by me. The third, maikuli (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and [197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions, his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamarakotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

Phonetics

Introduction.

● 194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto

8 [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 — Analysis]

194 b - phoneme is open, while that of the Spanish b - phoneme is more nearly stopped. Subsidiary members of the Kamarakoto r - phoneme overlap both the r - and the l - phonemes of Spanish. Similarly a single Spanish phoneme may be represented by two in Kamarakoto, for instance Spanish e overlaps both Kamarakoto e and E. Some Kamarakoto phonemes, like ɸ, do not occur in Spanish at all and some Spanish phonemes, like f, are wholly lacking in Kamarakoto.

The Kamarakoto language is characterized phonetically by its relatively vocalic character. It is rich in vowels, including a whole series of central vowels that are particularly foreign to the Spanish ear, and most of the vowels produce shades and intergradations that are practically innumerable. Long successions of vowels and semivowels occur, as in the word woiwo which has no true consonants and is a succession of five distinct vowels and semivowels together with several intermediate gliding vowel sounds not written in broad transcription. There are relatively few really distinct consonant phonemes and successive consonants are rare and confined to a very few simple groups; for instance, such combinations as st, pr, bl, etc., so common in Spanish and most other European languages, are wholly absent in Kamarakoto. Like many other Indian languages, Kamarakoto is especially poor in pure fricatives. Several phonemes have fricative members or are transitional to fricatives, but there is no phoneme that is always and purely fricative. Unlike many, perhaps the majority of, Indian languages, Kamarakoto does not have a finely subdivided system of gutturals but has only two definite post-alveolar stop phonemes, one plosive (k-g) and the other non-plosive (ʾ). Intonation is peculiar and striking because of the shortening and strong stressing of virtually all final syllables.

104 Transcription. For present purposes it has been most practical to use a broad transcription, one in which each symbol represents a sound or a group of sounds which are for the Indians themselves members of a single phonetic unit, that is, belong to one phoneme. The only exceptions are the symbols g, ts, and l, which are respectively members of the k, s, and r phonemes but which are here distinguished for reasons given below. The symbols used are essentially those of the broad (or "simple") system of the American Anthropological Association,[9] which has the advantages of previous wide use for Indian languages and of requiring few symbols not found in all ordinary type fonts — for Kamarakoto only two, ɛ and ɔ, are necessary. Of course most of these symbols require special definition for adaptation to this particular language. The only definite departions from the A. A. A. broad system are the use of a period (.) to separate non-diphthongal vowel combinations, as in the A. A. A. narrow system, the use of ʾ to represent a non-plosive stop for which the system makes no provision, and the use of ch to represent a sound essentially like Spanish ch. The system has the important advantage that Indian words so written are generally recognizable if pronounced in the Spanish manner.[10]

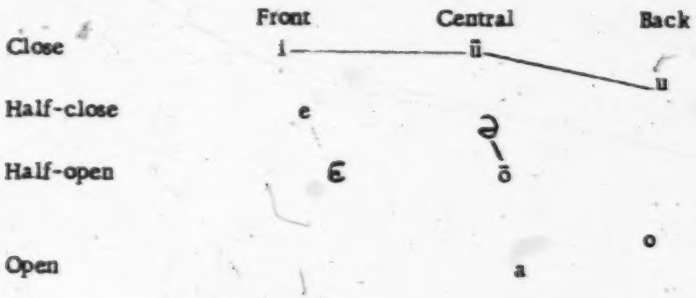
9, 10 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

194 128 Although the fact is well known it should be added that different speakers or the same speaker at different times will often say the same word in distinctly different ways. It would be possible to write many or all of these Indian words in some other way and still to have them as nearly "correct" as they are here. I can only say that, given the definitions of my symbols, I have heard each word pronounced by a native about or exactly as I write it and that I believe these to be the "standard" or "received" Kamarakoto pronunciations as spoken in and immediately near Kamarata. As a practical test, I could read over my transcriptions of Indian expressions after the auditory memory of them was vague or lost and the Indians invariably understood them easily, even though they occasionally corrected slight shades of sound.

194

Vowels.

Simple vowels. The nine vowel phonemes definitely distinguished may be represented as follows:



i, u, and a are essentially as in Spanish.

e is about as in Spanish, except that in Spanish it includes members that approach ɛ, which is a separate phoneme in Kamarakoto. ɛ is a more open and slightly more posterior sound than e, similar to the English e as in "pen." e and ɛ intergrade in Kamarakoto, a fact charted by inserting a line between them, [11] but their principal members are quite distinct.

a is similar to Spanish a but is an open intermediate vowel resembling the non-Spanish ɔ but more open. It sometimes differs from o (or also from ɔ) rather by a more open, less rounded lip position than by a decided difference in tongue position.

The greatest peculiarity of the Kamarakoto vocalic system, especially in comparison with Spanish, is its possession of a series of distinct central vowels, whereas practically all the Spanish vowels are near or on the anterior and posterior sides of the vowel triangle. I have been able to distinguish three

[11] [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 - Analysis]

194 fairly distinct central vowel phonemes in Kamarakoto and represent them by ü, ə, and õ.

ü, which resembles German ü without being identical, is in almost every respect intermediate between i and u and may be adequately reproduced by moving lips, jaw, and tongue half-way from i to u and then vibrating the vocal chords. Subsidiary members of the phoneme grade into i and into u and sounds practically indistinguishable from these two may appear in a ü - diaphone. Thus the word usually pronounced o.ina is also pronounced o.ünа and the word usually pronounced təpüi is also pronounced nearly (although not quite) təpui.

ə is the so-called neutral vowel, about like French e in such words as "de" or "le." It also resembles the neutral sound to which unstressed short English vowels tend to degenerate; e.g. a as in "along," e in "pavement," i in "horrible," o in "method," or u in "chorus," but in Kamarakoto it is more definite and distinct and is often stressed.[12] It is sharply unlike the Spanish e and does not grade into it noticeably.

õ grades into ə and the two are often difficult to distinguish, but I believe them to be separate phonemes. õ is similar to, but not the same as, German ö or French eu and is intermediate in position between ə and a, sometimes with greater protrusion of the lips than in either of these.

The fact that ü, ə, and õ do not occur in Spanish and that there is no specific spelling for ə in English has made the transcription of Indian words and names containing them very difficult and variable. ü has usually been written as u and ə as e, for instance the common geographic word təpüi ("mountain") is usually written "tepui" or "tepuy." As regards the ü this is a fair approximation, but e is a very poor approximation of ə, in fact a very short u, although equally incorrect, is acoustically nearer ə (to my ear) than is e and the spelling "tupuy," pronounced as if Spanish, is at least as good an approximation as is "tepui" or "tepuy." Variants of the sound here written õ have usually been recorded as o, but sometimes as e and sometimes as a. If only Spanish vowels are to be used, a is generally the closest acoustically, but not always — for instance the diphthong õi is very unlike Spanish ai and is better rendered as oi or ui. On a later page I have suggested Spanish spellings for some of the geographic names in the territory of this tribe.

Diphthongs. The following diphthongs were definitely recorded:

au	ai	
	ei	
eu	õi	> oi
	üi	

12 [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

●194 Of the other possible diphthongs in -i or -u, no close approach to ou, õu ou, or uu was heard and it is probable that in these combinations the two vowels are too much alike to be spoken as distinctly separate elements although they may appear vaguely as a result of glides that are not real phonemes. As in most languages, iu does not form a falling diphthong but becomes a rising diphthong or semivowel + vowel, yu. Something very near ɛu is often heard, but usually it is closer to eu and is probably not a separate phoneme. Perhaps the -u tends to draw ɛ closer to e and in any case the two, if they are really both present, are practically indistinguishable acoustically and do not appear to be distinguished by the Indians. The same is true of ɛi as against ei. ui was not recorded as separate phoneme, although approximations of it appear within a üi - diaphone. If ui can properly be said to occur at all, the -i has probably drawn the u- forward so as to be practically indistinguishable from ü.[13] It is highly probable that ɔi occurs, but ɔ and õ are usually difficult to distinguish and in this combination I found it impossible to do so with any consistency. The whole range of sounds around ɔi and õi is recorded as õi. I could not determine that the Indians themselves consciously differentiate the two.

The diphthongs in -u and -i are all falling. Whether or not rising diphthongs occur is purely a matter of definition. The sounds here written wa, ya, etc. could be considered as rising diphthongs and written ua, ia, etc. It is, [[104]] however, more usual phonetic practice and is more nearly self-explanatory to consider these combinations as semivowel + vowel and I have so written them.[14]

Unless a few syllables like wai be so considered, there are no triphthongs.

Successive vowels. Successive vowels in Kamarakoto are rare, tending to run into diphthongs or to become separated by semivowels, but they do occur. Thus the word o.ina is clearly three, not two, syllables, o-i-na, not oi-na, a separation here indicated by a period between the non-diphthongized vowels. Its diaphone o.ũna also has successive vowels and a diphthongized variant of this word was not heard among the Kamarakotos.[15]

Similarly the word usually pronounced ita.i occasionally becomes itai. The difficulty of pronouncing such a word without diphthongizing is interestingly illustrated by the fact that a child attempting to say ita.i consistently produced it as itoyi, apparently realizing that a.i is not the same as ai but unable to pronounce successive a and i. The tendency here shown, toward separating successive vowels by a semivowel, is fairly general in the language and perhaps explains why successive vowels are so rare. Thus po.inga is also pronounced poyinga, and a shadowy semivowel y often occurs in such a position.

This difficulty appears to be less when the second vowel is one other than i. Thus such combinations as o:apa or ko.atai show less tendency toward insertion of a semivowel, although even here a very fleeting w-like sound may be present between o and a.

13, 14, 15 [see footnotes on pp. 306-07, category 116 – Analyst]

194 Sometimes the distinction between successive vowels and diphthong or semivowel + vowel is so little as to be really subjective. For instance in the word lue the u is longer and more vocalic than the usual w but shorter and less vocalic than the usual u. The sound actually heard could about equally well be represented by lu.e, lue, or lwe (and also about equally well by ru.e, rue, and rwe). Similarly there are a few words like mausa, which is hardly different from ma.usa because the u is longer than it usually is in a diphthong but shorter than it usually is as a simple vowel. This is only likely to occur when the u is the penultimate vowel.

Double vowels, as distinct from merely long vowels, seem to be very rare but I have recorded one instance, in the word o.olori, which is not pronounced ōlori (nor oulori, wolori, etc.).[16]

Vowel quantity. Something has already been suggested of vowel quantity as it affects diphthongs and successive vowels. All vowels vary greatly in quantity, but most of the variations are nonfunctional, related to phonetic surroundings, speed of speech, and similar factors rather than approaching the status of phonemes. In most words the last vowel is relatively short, the penultimate vowel longer, and preceding vowels intermediate in length between these two. Thus in such an average word as Kumasa the relative vowel quantities are:

1. u — medium.
2. a — moderately long.
3. a — short, stressed.

Frequently a word pronounced out of context will have all the vowels somewhat lengthened for distinctness and the penultimate disproportionately so.

In words that follow this rule, which includes most of those recorded, no special indication of length is given. In some words, however, the penultimate vowel is still longer, this relative length is retained regardless of style of speech, the acoustic effect of the accent of the word is thus definitely altered, and the word may be unrecognizable or may sound decidedly wrong if the penultimate vowel is given only normal length. In these cases, then, the long vowels [104] achieve the status of true phonemes and (in accordance with both A. A. A. and International systems) I indicate them by placing a colon after the vowel, e.g. amaːtu, in which the relative quantities are:

1. a — medium.
2. aː — very long.
3. u — short, stressed.

Such long vowels are very rare except in the penultimate syllable, but do occur elsewhere in exceptional words, e.g. in oːapa in which the quantities are:

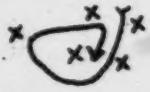
1. oː — long.
2. a — very short.
3. a — short.

16 [see footnote on p. 307, category 116 - Analyst]

● 194 This is so exceptional phonetically that the penultimate a should perhaps be considered as incidental to the glide from œ- to -pa rather than as functionally syllabic, but the word is unrecognizable to the Indians if pronounced œpa.

It goes almost without saying that supershort vowels (and continuant consonants) commonly appear in glides between many other sounds. Since these are practically physiological necessities in a continuous speech-act and have no linguistic function, they are not written in broad transcriptions like this unless (as in the exceptional œapa) they become so pronounced that they do acquire some linguistic value.

The word woiwo, already mentioned as peculiar, is interesting in connection with vowel quantities and glides. It might be described as a continuous vowel sound during which the raised part of the tongue goes through a closed, rounded, triangular path, thus:



— moving continuously but slowing down differently at the various points marked x. The result could be expressed thus:

u — very short (very brief slowing).
o — moderately long (pronounced slowing).
ɔ — supershort (continuous movement, no slowing).
i — short (brief slowing).
ü — supershort (continuous movement, no slowing).
u — very short (very brief slowing).
o — short, stressed (movement slows briefly and then ceases abruptly).

How such a sequence should be divided into syllables and what status should be given to its sounds is largely subjective. The sort of transcription used has shown the five points at which slowing occurs, w, o, i, w, and o, shows that this is definitely shorter at the first and fourth slowings, w and w, than at the others, and shows that it is shorter at the third than at the second. These are enough data for the correct pronunciation of the word without attempting to represent its more subtle glides, etc.

Consonants.

Many of the Kamarakoto consonant phonemes do not fall categorically into the usual phonetic classifications. Thus the b - phoneme includes both a plosive stop and a (nearly stopped) fricative, s includes both a fricative and an affricative, k includes both surd and sonant members, ʔ is a stop but is not plosive ("stop" and "plosive" often being used as if synonymous), etc.

● 194 As nearly as these peculiarities permit formal classification, the Kamarakoto consonants are as follows:

	Stops and Semistops			Fricative-Affricatives	Nasals		Flaps[17]	Semi-vowels
	Fricative-plosive	Plosive	Non-plosive		Short	Long		
Bilabial	b	p	—	(b)	m	—	—	w
Dental-alveolar	d	t	—	s-ts	n	n:	—	(y)
Palatal	—	—	—	ch	ñ	ñ:	r-l	y
Palato-velar	—	k-g	ŋ	—	(n)	—	—	—

17 [See footnote on p. 307, category 118 - Analyst]

194 There do not appear to be any consonant phonemes in Kamarakoto that are distinguished only or mainly by being sonant or surd. -ts and -ch are always surd; p, t, and k-g have their principal members surd but also include semi-sonant or sonant members. The other phonemes are practically always sonant.

Counting long nasals as distinct phonemes and counting b, k-g, n, r, and y as single phonemes (which I believe to be correct although some of these may possibly include two phonemes), there are fifteen consonants in Kamarakoto. Each of these is more exactly defined below.

b. —In Kamarakoto there is an almost continuous series of sounds from u to p and it is difficult to draw definite boundaries between phonemes in this series. w is a much shortened and somewhat relaxed u. When the lip-rounding is fully relaxed, w becomes a sort of bilabial v which is not a distinct phoneme in Kamarakoto but is approached by a relatively open b. In the typical pronunciation of b the lips are brought together, but without any muscular pressure, so that some breath does escape, producing a sound intermediate between fricative and a plosive. If no breath happens to escape, a weak plosive b is produced. As both the muscular lip tension and the breath-pressure are increased, this sound becomes stronger and becomes a sonant, bilabial, plosive fortis (a sound not clearly developed in either Spanish or English and only a rare variant in Kamarakoto). Now as the tension of the vocal chords is relaxed, this sound becomes semisonant and then surd and in the latter case is a typical p. As in English and Spanish, the relaxation of the vocal chords usually accompanies the tensing of the other organs of speech, but the overlap is more extensive and different so that a variant sound that might be described as a dull, b-like p does occur.

Within this series, the principal member of the b - phoneme has the lips brought together but fully relaxed, so that there is usually some escape of breath and the sound is partly a fricative and partly lenis plosive. Other members of the phoneme, less often heard, are close approaches to true bilabial v and to true plosive b. At the latter point I am not sure that I have always drawn the line correctly between this phoneme and the p - phoneme, but in most cases they are distinct.[18]

p. — The principal member of the p - phoneme is a surd, bilabial, plosive fortis, essentially as in Spanish or English. Only when it becomes somewhat sonant or somewhat lenis, as it occasionally does, is confusion with b likely.

d. — The relationship between d and t in Kamarakoto is exactly analogous to that between b and p. In the principal member of the d - phoneme the stop, here made between the blade of the tongue and the dental and alveolar parts of the front of the mouth, is loose and usually some air escapes giving the sound a fricative element. This is very like Spanish d in such words as "merced," but in Kamarakoto it may be initial and is never terminal. Less

[18] [see footnote on p. 307, category 116 — Analyst]

194 common variant members of the phoneme are more open, producing an approach to English sonant th as in "this," or fully closed, producing the typical plosive d.[19]

t. — The principal member of the t - phoneme is almost as in Spanish, but these appear to be semisonant, and possibly even fully sonant, variant members. The stop is complete so that the sound is a non-fricative plosive, generally fortis.

k-g. — An incompletely stopped palatal or velar plosive was not heard.[20] The principal member of the phoneme is a true plosive k with various position variants conditioned by the surrounding vowels and, unlike those of many Indian languages, not distinguished as separate phonemes. The differences in acoustic effect are insignificant. There is, however, a plosive g-sound in the language, which sounds quite different from the k to Spanish- or English-adapted ears. It is not distinguished from k by the Indians and almost invariably occurs under special phonetic conditions where k is unusual, i.e. after nasals and before w.[21] It must therefore be regarded as a member of the k - phoneme. I have nevertheless departed from broad transcription to the extent [109] of using g when the sound was normally and distinctly voiced. Spanish- and English-speaking readers will thus achieve a better pronunciation of the words and no confusion will result if they remember that this g is merely a voiced k.

ʾ. — One of the most typical characteristics of the Kamarakoto language is the existence of a sound produced by bringing the tongue into contact with the nearest part of the roof of the mouth and then relaxing the vocal chords and releasing the breath pressure so that the subsequent opening of the stop is practically inaudible. It thus differs essentially from k in which the sound is chiefly produced by the opening of the stop, that is, is plosive. ʾ is a stop that is not plosive. The exact position in which the stop is produced varies from velar to anterior palatal, but this is determined by the position of the preceding vowel and is not a difference in phonemes. After a posterior vowel, such as a, ʾ produces an acoustic effect something like a completely unaspirated k and after an anterior vowel, notably i, the effect is that of a similarly unaspirated t, or, more accurately, they are rather like completely voiceless g and d, respectively.[22]

This sound only occurs after vowels and is hardly ever heard except at the end of a word. Sometimes it is retained in compounds but often it is then weakened or lost, depending on the degree of fusion attained by the compound. Thus in enwarapaima the ʾ of enwaraʾ is lost, but in maichaʾ-ya the ʾ of maichaʾ is retained. It may appear in weak form after any terminal vowel (except those that are or can be nasalized, see below), but I have written it only when it is normally strong and distinct and is felt to be an essential element in the word.

19, 20, 21, 22 [see footnotes on pp. 307-08, — Analyst]
category 116

● 194 I have considered this sound as a phoneme, and certainly many words cannot be correctly pronounced unless it is indicated, but I suspect that it is a secondary phonetic phenomenon not quite analogous to the other stops. It probably arises from the strongly stressed but at the same time short nature of final vowels in Kamarakoto, as a means of quickly and definitively shutting off a short, sharp vowel. Indeed the sound may readily be obtained by attempting to pronounce a vowel as forcefully as possible and at the same time to stop it with the tongue as quickly as possible.[23]

The symbol ' is usually used for the glottal stop, but it is convenient to borrow it for this analogous and acoustically somewhat similar palato-velar stop.

s-ts. — The Kamarakoto s resembles that of Spanish but is still stronger. It is always surd and is a very strong, decisive hiss. The enunciation is so forceful that the tongue is brought nearly into contact with the roof of the mouth, opening again as it slides into the following vowel. This grades naturally into a sound in which the tongue does actually touch for the briefest instant, producing an affricative ts.[24] This affricative or transitional fricative-affricative ts is not a separate phoneme in Kamarakoto but is only an s still stronger than usual, as is well shown by the fact that s and ts are often interchangeable, even within this dialect, and that the Indians do not distinguish them. Thus the word usually pronounced motsa is also sometimes pronounced mosa and in some related dialects is always mosa. I have written ts when it is clearly present and relatively constant, a departure from broad transcription but one that permits better pronunciation of the Kamarakoto words without undue complexity of symbols.

ch. — The sound so represented is a strong affricative practically the same as Spanish ch or as English ch in "church." In its variation it sometimes approaches ts, but is usually quite distinct.[25]

ch is a poor symbol for this sound from an international point of view, but it conveys it immediately to Spanish- or English-speaking readers. The A. A. A. symbol, tc, conveys an incorrect idea to anyone not constantly concerned with that system, and the International Phonetic symbol requires special type.

Since ch has the same relationship to English sh as in "English" that ts has to s, it might be expected that sh would be the principal member of this phoneme as s is of the s-ts phoneme. In fact sh is a common diaphone in related languages, compare, for example Kamarakoto chayu = Taurepán shu:yu, panachika = pana:shika,[26] etc., but I did not hear any Kamarakoto pronounce ch without a distinct initial close, however brief.

m. — This is the ordinary sonant bilabial nasal and offers no noteworthy peculiarities aside from the tendency for the voicing to cause progressive similitude, i.e. a following p or t tends to become partly or almost fully voiced and to resemble or even to be indistinguishable from b or d, respectively.

23, 24, 25, 26 [see footnotes on p. 308, category 116 – Analyst]

● /194 n. — The usual n is similar to the usual voiced alveolar nasal of European languages, varying somewhat in position under the influence of surrounding sounds. The voicing is generally very full and, as with m, tends to be progressive so that fully surd p or t are rare after n.

In certain fixed positions, n becomes partly or fully velar, almost like English ng in "sing." (As in Kamarakoto, this sound is not a separate phoneme in Spanish but it does occur, being present, not always fully developed, in such words as "brinca," "banco," "tengo," etc.). n in Kamarakoto is always somewhat velarized before k-g (which is usually nearer g in this combination) and w and also when it is final. Since this sound is essentially invariable in these positions and clearly belongs to the n - phoneme, it is not written with a special symbol.

Terminal - n is always velarized but the degree varies. In some cases the sound is nearly that of alveolar n with very slight velarization and in others the velarization is complete. The sound may also be reduced so that it amounts only to a brief nasalization of the end of the preceding vowel or may even be almost inaudible. The variations are individual or developed by the context and do not, strictly speaking, represent distinct members of the n - phoneme, still less separate phonemes but belong in a diaphone with the velar member of the n - phoneme. A recognizable and valid pronunciation will be produced if terminal n is always pronounced as a velar.

n:. — There are a few words in the language, like ben:ɛ (cf. the quite distinct word bene) which contain a functional long nasal recognized by the Indians themselves as unlike the short sound. This should therefore probably be considered a separate phoneme although it is merely a prolongation of n.

ñ. — This is a distinct palatal n or n - mouillé, acoustically indistinguishable from Spanish ñ. It is less variable than n, apparently never being distinctly reduced or velarized.

ñ:. — There is a rare long palatal n, or ñ, as in ñ:amoro, which is acoustically well distinguished from ñ and may be a separate phoneme. It sounds much like nñ, but analysis shows that the prolonged first part is really palatal, as in ñ, and not alveolar, as in n. It has, however, probably arisen from n+ñ.

r-l. — Sounds generally transcribed as r and l belong to a single phoneme in Kamarakoto. The principal member of this phoneme is a flapped r, resembling the Spanish flapped r, as in "era," and the British (not American) flapped r as in "very."[27] It is very unlike the trilled or fricative r's, as in Spanish rr or initial r or English r in "ready," and still less like the uvular or so-called guttural forms general in French and German.[28] Despite this decided difference from various sounds commonly written r in European languages, the close resemblance to the common flapped Spanish r makes this a good symbol for the principal member of this phoneme.

27, 28 [see foot notes on p. 308, category 116 - Analyst]

●194 It is, however, typical of the phoneme that the sides of the middle and back of the tongue are generally less tense than in the Spanish r, with the result that there may be some lateral opening and the sound then becomes a flapped (non-continuant) l. This is especially likely to occur when the following sound is posterior.[29] For instance the initial consonant of the geographic name Luepa belongs to the r - phoneme (and some missionaries, for instance, do write it Ruepa, which is technically correct broad transcription), but the Kamarakotos, at least, always pronounce it with some lateral opening so that the acoustic effect is nearer l than r. Indeed it is almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to pronounce r without lateral opening before a very short u or w. This can be done before a longer u, e.g. in Karume, but even here there frequently appears an audible down-glide after the r.

Before a distinct, non-gliding e the sound is generally a fairly pure r, e.g. aka:re.

It is, however, difficult to sum up these position variants in any simple rule and there are other cases for which I detect no rule. For this reason and because the acoustic effect of the two may be so different, at least to the non-Indian ear, I have departed from broad transcription to the extent of writing l when the lateral opening was essentially constant and made a strong acoustic effect, using r when the lateral opening was absent, highly variable, or so slight as to produce little acoustic effect.

w: — This is the bilabial, non-fricative semivowel, essentially as in English, and unlike the usual Spanish pronunciation of the foreign letter w, which is usually fricative, as in German. The sound does occur in Spanish, e.g. it is almost the same as the initial semivowel in "hueso." In Kamarakoto similar but fricative sounds appear invariably to belong to the phoneme b, not w. The sound differs from u principally in length, being shorter than the shortest independent vocalic u, but also in tensity, generally being more relaxed. Especially after consonants, it could be considered a supershort u, but transcription is considerably simplified if it is always represented as w. The phoneme is clearly different from that of vocalic u.[30]

y. — The phoneme here represented by y is one of the most variable in Kamarakoto, grading into a supershort i - glide at one extreme and into an affricative not far from English j as in "judge" at the other. The principal member of the phoneme is pronounced in about the position of English y in "yield" or Spanish y in "yegua," but the position of the tongue is closer and the exhalation of the breath stronger so that the sound has a slight fricative quality, verging on the French j of "je" or English z of "asure." This sound does not occur in standard Spanish, but is a frequent colloquial pronunciation
[171] of y and ll. In colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, ll has almost exactly the sound of a typical Kamarakoto y.[31]

29, 30, 31 [see footnotes on pp. 308-09, category 116 - Analyst]

Especially when it may be regarded as instrusive and is glide-like, as in poyinga,[32] the y may be a non-fricative semivowel, but it is impossible to set this aside as a separate phoneme. Once the y appears, even as an intrusion, it tends to become fricative and even the truly consonantal semi-fricative y varies greatly in the strength of the fricative element.

Some idea of the variation within this protean phoneme may be illustrated by the word yɛ̨ʾ, "tree." Pronounced by itself, the word begins with a fairly clear, almost non-fricative y. In compounds, which are very numerous, it usually is strongly fricative, becoming nearly -zɛ̨ʾ (z as in English "asure"). From this, the normal pronunciation in compounds, arises a (rather imperfect) affricative and the pronunciation is nearly -dzɛ̨ʾ (dz like j and g in English "judge"), e.g. tsimara-ozɛ̨ʾ, also pronounced simara-zɛ̨ʾ. Finally in a few cases the closure approached in the last form predominates over the sibilant fricative sound and the acoustic impression is that of a vague and not quite stopped palatal or somewhat mouillé d, e.g. paunɛ̨-dɛ̨ʾ (d as just explained). Close transcription would require six or seven symbols for this one phoneme. As is proper in broad transcription, I have used only one and always write it y. If it is always pronounced as its principal member, described above, it will always be understood and will seldom sound definitely wrong to an Indian.

Successive consonants. It is typical of Kamarakoto that successive consonants are rare and belong to only three simple types:

1. Nasal+stop: saunampa
   mõmbə
   nungə
   pendə
   yentsi[33]
2. r+nasal or stop: karmaiha
   parpari
3. Nasal, r, or stop+w (which could in such cases be considered a supershort vowel and hence not a successive consonant):
   sanwoto (n velarized)
   kan. wa (n not velarized)[34]
   yurwa
   kwai=gwai

Combinations of types (1) and (3) give rise to the very rare cases of three successive consonants, e.g. kambwõ.

The absence of combinations like pr, tr, st, sp, bl, skr, spl, etc., so common in European languages, is striking and complete.[35]

Occasionally word- or phrase- building brings ʾ before a consonant. In this case it is usually weakened and may disappear altogether but it is occasionally retained, e.g. maichaʾ-ya. None of the other stops can occur in such a position, even in successive words.

32, 33, 34, 35 [see footnotes on p. 389, category 116 — Analyst]

Stress and Intonation.

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The numerous peculiarities of individual sounds and of successive vowels and consonants, already mentioned, in themselves produce a phonetic type clearly unlike any European language and also differing from most Indian languages.

Equally striking, especially when hearing the language spoken in consecutive phrases, is the effect of its peculiar stress and intonation. Without important exception, Kamarakoto words have a single, strong stress which falls on the last syllable. This syllable is always short, but it is clearly enunciated and emphatic. The last vowels of words spoken alone, of important words in connected speech, and of words ending sense-groups are almost invariably spoken with a rising tone, making a very peculiar effect on the non-Indian ear, almost as if everything said were questioned. The terminal stress is not marked in my transcription because it may be assumed to be present in all cases. In writing names, etc., in a European language context, however, it is well to write an accent on the last vowel of most Kamarakoto words, thus Karoni should be written "Caroní" in general usage.[36]

An apparent but not real exception arises in the cases of words, like amaːtu, with very long penultimate vowels. Then the prominence of this vowel is, to our ears, about as great as that of the terminal vowel, but the prominence has a different cause. The penultimate vowel in such cases is long but unstressed, the ultimate is short but stressed. Since accent in Spanish and English is generally based on coincident length and stress, in these words the ear is often baffled as to which vowel really carries the accent.

When words are compounded, the original stress may be retained, weakened, or lost, and I have detected no fixed rule for this except that it seems to be roughly in universe ratio to the degree of fusion of sense involved. When the stress is strongly retained, or fusion is clearly incomplete, I have written the word with a hyphen. Thus in tuna-wapai, (coming out) "from the water," the stressed -a of tuna, "water," is retained. The postposition wapai is a separate speech unit (analogous to a preposition) and could be written as a separate word. But yeteka, "(he) is dying, dies," loses its stress in yetekasa, "(he) has died, is dead." Here the added syllable fuses and the whole thing is essentially a new word with a new single stress.

It may be added here that Kamarakoto words can only end in vowels, ʔ, or (velar) -n.[37] Any of the vowels and of the diphthongs in -i can be terminal, but terminal diphthongs in -u are extremely rare (although not quite lacking.) Any of the vowels can be followed in terminal position by ʔ or -n and terminal ʔ is common after -i diphthongs, but -n was not noted after these.[38]

36, 37, 38 [see footnotes on p. 310, category 116 -Analyst]

*192 *197 826

23. Chest — puleupu-to.

24. *Arm — emekun-to. Taurepan (t)eumukun. Makuchi (Williams) eme-kun.

● [194] 25. *Hand — enya-to. Taurepan ["(his) hand"] (it)ena, (it)e:nya. In these words the y is distinct and semi-fricative, ny not equivalent to ñ. In other dialects (cf. Adam) it sometimes becomes a stop, d, and sometimes an affricative, e.g. tz. In still others, e.g. Maquiritare, it is lost and the nasal becomes bilabial, amo, amu, etc.

Fingers — Informants apparently did not know any word for "finger" in general,[42] but gave the following names for the individual fingers:

26. Thumb — yun
27. 2 — imboron
28. 3 — imboron-mareõ-imboron
29. 4 — yami-nawaɨn
30. 5 — yami?
31. Belly — rota-to
32. Buttock — aung:pun-to

Leg — There appears to be no word for the leg as a whole.

33. *Thigh — ɛmata-to. Taurepan (t)eumɵta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)ɛmata-le.

34. *Shank — pietsi-to. Taurepan (i)ichi. Makuchi (Williams) (u)ji (j as in English "judge"). "our legs" - ana pi-chi-kon.[43]

[193] 35. Foot — puta-to. Taurepan (i)ta. Makuchi (Williams) bu. bu (or, more generally, pu) and puta are different roots and ta is a reduced form of the latter. Thus Adam gives forms of both within a single language, Makuchi, (u)pu [= bu of Williams] and -ta-. According to Williams, the latter means "heel." Generally they do not occur in one dialect and puta, cognate with ta, certainly means the whole foot and not "heel" alone in Kamarakoto. Apparently this is an example of two roots originally different that have come to have essentially the same meaning, with the resultant loss of one or the other in most dialects. A fuller form of the root puta survives in some Taurepan compounds, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) "deer hoof" = waikinpɵta -pipɵ, in which pɵta = puta of Kamarakoto and ta disjunctive in Taurepan. Adam also gives intermediate dialect forms like pta and htah showing the reduction and loss of the first syllable.

36. Toes — Same words as for fingers, prefixed by putato — if necessary to distinguish.

42, 43 [see footnotes on pp. 310-311, category 116 — Analyst]

*197 single word spoken by a Kamarakoto, although both speak Carib languages, and Kamarakotos and Maquiritares cannot converse with each other although their languages are relatively closely allied. In addition to these divisions which may be called languages, there are innumerable minor or local dialects; doubtless several hundred have existed within historic times although most of them have not been and never will be exactly defined and characterized. Every gradation exists from purely individual differences of speech to differences so great that only close study reveals any affinity.

Within this great complex the Kamarakoto dialect can be placed with some precision. Its linguistic affinities are fairly well defined by its geographic position although not fully so. Kamarakoto is geographically about as close to Maquiritare as to Makuchi, but its affinities are much closer to the latter than to the former. This may be adequately summed up by saying that Kamarakoto's affinities are mainly with dialects spoken to the east and southeast and that in a general way the affinities become more distant in that direction with greater geographic separation. [90]

Among well known dialects, Kamarakoto is obviously most nearly related to Taurepán as is conclusively shown by the preceding vocabulary and grammatical sketch. The relationship is so close that Kamarakotos and Taurepánes can converse with relative ease, [91] although it is by no means an identity. The Kamarakoto accent is recognizably different and even words of common origin are often pronounced differently in Taurepán and Kamarakoto. Sufficient examples have been given. Some of the general phonetic tendencies are as follows:

*197 ●194

The Kamarakotos tend to pronounce more clearly and more forceably, their fricatives often are closer and their stops more plosive. Kamarakoto open b is often w in Taurepán, Kamarakoto ts Taurepán s, etc.

Taurepán seems, nevertheless, to have more internal non-plosive stops, _, than Kamarakoto. This also may be part of the somewhat slurred Taurepán pronunciation; for instance, in at least some cases the obscure internal in Taurepán is equivalent to a clear plosive in Kamarakoto.

Kamarakoto tends to have diphthongs, especially when terminal, where Taurepán often has simple vowels, perhaps also a reduction caused by the less clear Taurepán enunciation.

As nearly as one word can, the Kamarakoto tien-ak müi = Taurepán yenegam. shows these tendencies.

Very close transcription would show that most words are pronounced differently in Kamarakoto and in Taurepán even when they can be written in the same way in broad transcription.

*197 192

There are furthermore numerous cases in which the Kamarakoto word is from the same root as the Taurepán but is a distinctly different derivative, e.g. Kamarakoto abakaparu = Taurepán wakau, and numerous other examples in the

90, 91 [see footnotes on p. 317, category 116 - Analysis]

101 5. They were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is
101 not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred
192 if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

● 194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ö, a with õ and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate õi.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

† [i.e. the Acawai – Andyvr]

194 197 15. But Taurepán diaphones of the same word do tend to become bi-syllabic. Among them o. ũna was also recorded but õ. ina and õina were also heard and one speaker used the remarkable variant ina in which even the diphthong disappears in favor of a simple vowel and the n is palatalized.

16. It is interesting that this instance of a double vowel does not occur in Taurepán, in which I heard the cognate word pronounced worũwori and wõrowori.

194 17. I use this unorthodox category because the phoneme r-l is not typically a true fricative nor a true lateral, but something of both of them and also of a plosive and even of a semi-vowel. It seems simplest just to call it a flap, which is fairly descriptive and distinguishes it from the wholly distinct fricative r.

Symbols in parentheses represent subsidiary members of phonemes of which the principal members are classified elsewhere. Symbols connected by hyphens belong to different members of the same phoneme.

[128] 18. Nasals in Kamarakoto have a tendency to produce voicing in the following consonant and I now suspect that some of the sounds that I have written as b, especially after nasals, are really members of the p - phoneme, but I cannot now correct my records. In any case the pronunciation is not significantly falsified and may even be better, for Spanish or English speaking persons, than if the correct phoneme-symbol had been used.

19. Here, too, I suspect that some sounds recorded as d, especially after nasals, really belong to the t phoneme, but if so, the spelling here given conveys a better idea of the sound to the Spanish- or English- adapted ear.

20. Except as purely non-functional "grace-notes" in sliding to and from palato-velar stops. A sound in this group analogous to the incompletely stopped forms of b and d would resemble the Spanish j.

21. An occasional exception was recorded, as in the word tsigerende, but this is not a fully voiced lenis g but a semi-voiced fortis sound arising from incomplete cessation of the voice between i and e and it does belong to the k-phoneme. The phenomenon involved is well illustrated by the fact that when an informant was asked to repeat the word gwai slowly he said kə-wai — upon being removed from the influence of the following w the guttural lost its voicing.

22. This is well illustrated by Koch-Grünberg's treatment of the closely similar Taurepán sound. He usually writes it as g, but after i he often writes it d. It might be argued that ' is merely an artificial grouping of members of the d or t and k-g phonemes, especially as it is almost invariably terminal and d, t, k, and g never are. Carefully noted, however, it is quite distinct in

●194 character and its status as a separate phoneme seems to me to be conclusively established by the fact that when word- and phrase-building bring it into a phonetic position where d, t, k, and g can occur, which often happens, it never becomes one of those sounds but retains its own character or disappears altogether.

23. In many languages an analogous effect is produced by a glottal stop which may be heard even in English words like "no" when pronounced very quickly and decisively. The effect is the same but the means are different.

24. Most conveniently so written, but unlike the combination of a plosive t + s, which does not occur in Kamarakoto.

25. I suspect that some travelers, familiar with ch and not with affricative ts, have mistaken the latter for the former, but to one conscious of the distinction they are usually readily separable.

26. In the Kamarakoto word, contrary to rule, the penultimate vowel is short so that the relative vowel quantities are: 1, a — short; 2, a — slightly longer; 3, i — short; 4, a — short. This is similar to the abnormal long a: in the Taurepán word. The normal shortness (or inconspicuousness) of the i — vowels sometimes produces such anomalies in Kamarakoto and allied languages (but a long i, i:, does occur).

27. This sound is absent in American English and is not invariable in British English. Americans always and British often use fricative r even in words like "very." To the American ear the flapped r sounds like a dull d.

28. To such an extent that it would hardly occur to a German to represent this Indian sound by r and, for instance, Koch-Grünberg almost invariably writes it l. E.g. he writes "Taulipang" for the tribal name now standardized in Spanish as "Taurepán." The actual pronunciation is between these two.

29. The same thing is true of flapped "r" in a number of Spanish colloquial dialects. For instance Venezuelan peones commonly say "reflán" for "refrán." This makes r for the Kamarakoto phoneme a still better symbol for Spanish readers.

30. But, as already mentioned, this sound, never occurring except before a vowel, could be considered as merely an element in a whole series of ascending diphthongs, wa, wo, etc. These sounds are written as diphthongs in Spanish, ua, uo, etc., and Spanish transcriptions of Indian words are usually so

194 written. To use u in this way here would, however, be difficult or inaccurate since it would require a different diacritical mark to distinguish the sound from u and u: and would be bad transcription because the phoneme is different from that of u. The common use in Spanish transcriptions of gu- for initial w- is still worse, since no stop analogous to that of g is really present. Moreover gw- does occur in Kamarakoto and is quite distinct from w-.

194 171 31. I do not see how this can be a case of assimilation. It is barely possible that Carib phonetics have influenced Venezuelan Spanish in this direction, but a similar ll sound can be heard among Spanish speakers (e.g. in the Argentine) whose ancestors never saw a Carib. The same is true of the special resemblance between Kamarakoto and colloquial Spanish b and r. On the other hand, it is still more incredible that Spanish should have affected Kamarakoto phonetics significantly. A generation ago no Kamarakoto knew any Spanish and only two or three of them know much now.

However this may be, Venezuelans have an understandable tendency to transcribe this Indian sound as ll, a transcription almost perfect to their ears but very misleading to almost anyone else. The sound has practically nothing in common with the Castilian ll = l mouillé.

194 32. This is merely a variant of po.inga in Kamarakoto, and comparison with other dialects shows fairly conclusively that the y is intrusive and not vestigial.

33. Not pronounced yensi. Even in Taurepán, in which s is less often affricative, this word has a definite stop.

34. This is an exceptional word, the only example I have of a completely unvelarized n before w. There is a distinct surd pause between n and w, as I indicate by . , which could also be considered as a very short surd only semisonant vowel. Sometimes this is audible as breathing and the word sounds Kanhwa. There is no aspirate phoneme in the language and this is the nearest to an independent aspirate that I heard.

35. An apparent exception is a word recorded as trapichi, but in the first place this is not a Kamarakoto word except by adoption (it is the Spanish trapiche), and the second place there is really a short neutral vowel between the t and the r — disregarding the etymology of the word it could just as well be written tərapichi (or tərabichi — the p is somewhat voiced, as often between two resonant vowels), noting that the ə is exceptionally short.

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

202 114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 197 226 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

192 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by
197 Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."
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194 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate.
197 The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta=ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-,
192 are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum
197 virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately
601 defined these words in Taurepán. He gives murɛ, with variants, for "kind,"
197 "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lumɛ: (= -r-mɛ) as if they were variants of murɛ. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)məlɛ (= murɛ) as Ingarikó and unlɛ (= -nrɛ) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This[1] is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate
197 with Kamarakoto œapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.
192

* [i.e. inɛ² — Analyst]

183 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 115 194 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes nearer than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 194 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 114 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 [104] [114] 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the Caroni that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoni at this late date. Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these individuals. [825] No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoni is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoni is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [[7]] [226] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 631 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.